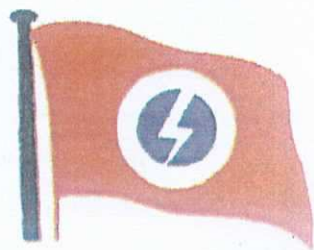


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FASCIST EDUCATIONAL POLICY



BY
WILLIAM JOYCE

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By William Joyce

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He was a prominent member and speaker for the British Union of Fascists but left that organisation to found his own political party. It was called the National Socialist League.

Just before the war he left Britain and became best known for his wartime broadcasts.

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All recognised thinkers and many unrecognised thinkers are quite willing to supply the naive public with their various definitions of education; and because there is no unanimity as to the nature of the thing, there is no agreement as to the purpose which it serves or should serve. The Fascist, however, may in this case be pardoned if, declining to repeat the weary work of weary philosophers, he confines himself to an austere survey of the practical aspects which this problem presents in the great task of national reconstruction. Nevertheless he is compelled to define with some clarity the goal which he appoints not only for himself but for unborn generations

The Ends to be Attained

In accordance with the dualism of Community and Individual to be found in any healthy body politic, two ends must be established as the objective of Fascist education. These purposes may be stated thus:

1/. Fascist Education is designed to make citizens worthy of Fascist civilisation. Should the Fascist State adopt any other principle, it might justly be accused of an immoral inconsistency. The State cannot have one philosophy and the schools half a dozen. At a time when we are educating the nation to its salvation, we cannot assent to the proposition that our work is to be undone by those who have the custody of our youth.

2/. Fascism, so far from being a machine without life or soul, takes full cognizance of the individual as a vital force within the State, which, without any reference to the rights of subjects, has the right to the service and progress which can be gained only by granting opportunity to individuals of merit regardless of the circumstances of their birth. It is a fundamental principle of Fascism that every child must receive the best education that the state can provide, for the reason that the state requires the best service that can be given. The purpose of education, however, is not to make plumbers, doctors, or lawyers; it is not to enable every small boy to realise his wish to become an engine driver; it is not to place everybody in a state of mind wherein exclusion from the profession or riches is likely to develop a neurosis. The individual purpose is, if we may disclaim unreserved admiration for Epicurus, to make man and woman happy. The project is ambitious; endocrines and inherited nervous syndromes will often make our task difficult and will occasionally defeat us, but the consensus modern psychological opinion shows clearly how much misery of a permanent character is caused by maltreatment of the child mind. The two aims of Fascist education are in natural harmony.

The grandeur of the state will be causally related to the welfare and happiness of the individual. In a Fascist community, no social stigma can possibly be attached to the lowest worker in the lowest hierarchy of functional organisation, provided he be honest and industrious. Poverty will be abolished by science, and squalor will be abolished by Fascists. Every service to the nation will be honoured; and the labourer with a competent income will have no reason to envy the larger incomes of those whose functions in the State lay heavier burdens of expenditure upon them. In such circumstances our problem will be to stimulate ambition rather than to allay the jealousy which is a natural character of the present system. This stimulation must come from a new and Fascist aristocracy which, besides making of heredity the use which science warrants, will attract and absorb those individuals who make the best use of the education which the State has given them. On the other hand, promotion will confer responsibility; and such emoluments as may ensue can but be regarded as a concession to the strengths and weaknesses of human nature.

These concepts of society are, of course, revolutionary. But they must be understood before it is possible to appreciate the necessary association under Fascism of national service and personal happiness, the two sublimities which so many famous men have failed to attain.

II. Practical Reservations

No discussion on British education can render final profit until two conditions have been realised.

First it is necessary that the triumph of Fascism shall produce that regeneration of national philosophy, without which the accumulated decadence of centuries must continue to poison the national mind until spiritual death supervenes. Secondly it is necessary that our economic policy be translated into practice; for it is quite clear that many of our educational problems are secondary economic problems. Be it granted that present authorities indulge in a bizarre extravagance, it is evident to every observer that even the most careful management would not produce savings adequate to a real improvement. In a Fascist economic system it would be possible to pay a high price for a great national need, just as it would be necessary to secure value for the money. But, when millions are starving education can hardly claim the attention which as a matter of policy it deserves.

Whilst we insist on a philosophical revaluations of all values, the average teacher would probably suggest that his more serious difficulties could be met by the expenditure of more money on himself and on his material; and whilst the pedagogue cannot be allowed to, dictate to the community as he should dictate to his charges, he is competent to tell us how far he is embarrassed by lack of support from the State. We can credit him with honesty if we deny him infallibility; and his Corporation would allow him greater opportunities than he has ever possessed of representing his needs.

III. The Present System Briefly Reviewed

The reader is now trenchantly reminded of my introductory note. It is here absolutely impossible to describe the present system of education. Satire is not the purpose of this paper. Whilst allowing for the nobility with which thousands of teachers and myriads of instructors have devoted their lives to their vocation, we prefer to select for observation those salient features the ugliness of which suggests the need for reform, or plastic surgery the attention which as a matter of policy it deserves if the metaphor is to be sustained.

1. The Teachers.

"A teacher must be firm, patient and resourceful; and a passing acquaintance with his subject will rarely be found amiss."

The authority who delivered this quip on modern education might have added that the teacher should possess courtesy of manner and conduct.

The suggestion is not, of course, that the College of Heralds should assume the arduous duties of finding teachers and "making Gentlemen"

But the teaching profession has too long provided abiding refuge for those who regard academic attainment as a substitute for character.

From present teachers the most that we can demand is that they should adapt themselves to the needs of the Fascist state; but it is our particular concern that the teachers of the future should receive special advantages in the course of their training. It is unhappily true that many teachers have attempted to destroy patriotism at its roots; many have failed to show such standards of conduct as would prove beneficial to their charges. Yet it must be remembered that the standards cannot improve very rapidly until the profession is able to offer inducements to the persons best fitted to undertake the training of the nation's youth.

2. State Schools

There is room for much improvement both in the imparting of knowledge and in the formation of character. A few of the main defects of this system may here be mentioned;

(a) In some schools the physical condition of the children is of a nature to preclude advantageous instruction. (b) The condition of many homes is such that the work done at school produces less than its proper effect (c) The present size of classes generally precludes effective teaching. It is not uncommon to find that a teacher is struggling with a class of 50 or even 60 pupils, when his capacities might well be heavily taxed by 25.

(d) The surprising number and variety of educational authorities may appeal to the individualist philosopher; but the wide range of diversity is not compatible either with organisation or with economic equity. There is no uniformity of expenditure, there is no uniformity of conditions.

(e) First hand acquaintance with these schools would dispose of the notion that they are now instruments for the inculcation of good citizenship. Where the teachers lack a sound political philosophy, it cannot be imparted to their charges.

(f) Whilst we have postulated some higher goal of education than the mere acquisition of knowledge, it is nevertheless important that pupils should be fitted to perform their due task in the Corporate State. The present system is of such a kind that the pupil discharged from a school as a finished product has often learned neither the elements pertaining to his business in life nor the infinitely more important art of learning itself. The amount of influence of Rousseau and other depraved enemies of society has gained such power that the very roots of discipline have been cut. The constant attempt to discover a technique agreeable to the child has deprived the poor creature of many valuable opportunities of learning to do the disagreeable. Similarly the most fantastic methods have been employed in order to exempt the leader from the terrible charge of impressing his personality upon the students. Nor are these methods always evidence of wise forbearance on the part of the teacher. Too many experiments have been made in the practical cultivation of a type which has no power to make decisions, least of all between right and wrong.

(g) The school leaving age are too low. Children often relinquish their studies at an age when their vocational aptitudes have not even appeared. (i) The Fascist system would devote considerably more expenditure to education than is now allocated; at the same time money should be spent by the State on those who are likely to make the greatest return to the State. There is no natural right to education; but the state has a natural duty to render to itself. The present system is open to the criticism that scholarships are often awarded to children who prove to be of indifferent use to the country, whilst the student of superior ability is afforded much less help than considerations of national economy would dictate; for true economy does not lie in the imposition of disadvantages on ability.

3. Private Schools

The phrase " private School " covers a multitude of incommensurables may cloak the vices of a Squeers, suggest the dynamic feats of the professional coach, or obscure the consummate skill of the Jesuit mentor. In this boundless and uncharted universe, there may be found treasures of education in juxtaposition with the most perfect achievements of the confidence man's art. The simple truth

is that any two individuals may enter into an educational contract wherein the buyer may be quite unable to judge the value of his purchase and will certainly be unable to claim redress, should he feel that he has been cheated. It is particularly unwise to discuss in general terms a subject which possesses everything but the homogeneous. The public has however, been subjected to numerous frauds by self confessed experts whose fund of cunning would compensate for lack of knowledge, if it were devoted to instructing students instead of deluding parents and guardians.

The less desirable private schools are staffed by unfortunate persons whose incompetence enables the proprietors to blackmail them into accepting demoralising conditions of employment.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember that some private schools are very well conducted. Many of these institutions are valuable to the community; but this very fact presents an unanswerable case for their protection against shameless abuse of the liberties which they enjoy.

4. Public Schools.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the precise limits of this magic phrase. Legally it comprehends only the foundations of Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby, Charterhouse, Uppingham, Hailcybury, Westminster, and St. Paul's. Such precise definitions, however, would cause the gravest of offence to many esteemed members of our community who have been insinuated by parents of prescience into England's most exclusive trade union. An elementary approach to the problem would include a specification of the institutions to be deemed public schools, if our aim were merely to classify, but it will later be seen that the distinction between public and private schools is not of much practical value for a Fascist state.

What are generally called Public Schools may be criticised on various grounds of which the following are the chief; (a) The notions of citizenship inculcated are not now of value to the State. The teachers are for the most part steeped in the Nessian venom of social democracy and in some cases are content to delegate their duties to Mr. G. D. H. Cole and similar survivals of an archaic social order. Some of these schools have a fine tradition of patriotic service; but this heritage is being daily vitiated through the influence of Old Boys who have established some claim to notoriety by weakening England or disrupting her Empire. Effete politicians like Lord Irwin (Halifax) explain to admiring and innocent children what the public school concept of politics ought to be. The notion of " playing the game " has been translated into the theory that no Englishman ought to claim any advantages over the King's enemies. Indeed the polite form of the theory is that his enemies ought to be allowed to fix our handicap; and in the House of Commons, the public school theory of conduct seems to be the principle of survival by mutual reminiscences.

It is possible however to adopt an attitude of constructive criticism. Be it

granted that attendance at a school of rural environment does not always equip a young man to represent an agricultural constituency, the Public School tradition is yet capable of being utilised. It was not to be expected in an age of moral putrescence that this institution should be privileged to escape contamination.

(b) These schools possess substantial educational facilities of which proper advantage does not seem to be taken. That Public School men have certain advantages in bearing, conduct, and social intercourse: may well be admitted, though the origin of these advantages is most probably not within the school; but the actual value of the instruction is very disappointing except in those cases where undue concentration of attention has produced spectacular examination successes.

Whilst athletics do not receive undue notice, organised games are given a prominence not in proportion to their value in later life. Moreover, there is a strong tendency to create a highly artificial specialisation as between games and work. The result, is that many men who are useful on the playing fields are allowed to leave school in a condition of practical illiteracy. It is not claimed that schools should aim at the production of human encyclopaedias; but the least that they can do for the sons of the fortunate is to teach them to write and speak their own language. In general, the results of this education present no uniform standard of attainment. These schools produce some fine scholars, and it is probable that most of them do teach some students how to learn; but there still remains the criticism that boys who do not show any great zest for study are usually allowed to content themselves with "playing the game," whilst their subsequent development often reveals the fact that they possess intellectual abilities which would have repaid a little timely attention.

(c) How far the Public School contributes immediately to class prejudice is open to question; for this form of disease is by no means peculiar to one section of the community. It is found in its most virulent form amongst those who are under the constant necessity to prove that they do not belong to the labouring classes. A later and different question concerns the extent to which a Public School career may or should not procure special advantages for the pupil in his political, social and economic relationships. It is certain, however, that the present interpretation of the Public School spirit leads; to no useful concept of life or duty. Rather than be ostracised, men do what is done; and what is not being done calls for praise from no man. There can be no merit in doing what is "decent" if the doers' sole purpose is to appear decent. When decency is defined in terms of national service, the Public School spirit could be turned to national use; but at present it is impregnated with fallacies which it would be merely tedious to enumerate. The studied mediocrity which the Old Boy assumes "pour encourager les autres" is in itself a form of hypocrisy sufficient to create the most violent class prejudice. Britain does not want mediocrity.

5. Technical and Evening School

Technical Schools and Evening Institutes - for the continuation of adolescent and adult education perform a service all the more valuable to the community because the students have generally reached an age at which it is possible to appreciate learning or to regret possibilities previously ignored. This branch of education has not received sufficient attention; and the facilities which it provides are deserving of a much wider application.

6. The Universities

James II found to his cost that arbitrary interference with the Universities was apt to be resented. The Fascist does not shrink from resentment: but study of University conditions reveals the following facts; (a.) Some Universities encourage the kind of pacifism which condemns any war not waged by the U.S.S.R. or against Fascism. Undergraduates are likely to be irresponsible; but when their irresponsibility is associated with their Alma Mater, there is some reason to suppose that she is suffering from a grave malady. (b) It is thought becoming to select Chancellors from the ranks of decadent politicians and notorious Empire wreckers. (c) One university at least seems to combine democratic hysteria with a profound belief in the hopelessness of civilisation. (d) Financial circumstances often afford the advantages of university education to mediocrity and deny them to talent unsupported by wealth. (e) Postgraduate research is placed at a very definite disadvantage in this country. This work, so necessary to the State, is remunerated either badly or not at all. The children of poor parents are thus very frequently deprived of an opportunity to make some important contribution to knowledge. They cannot afford to stay at the University precisely when their presence would be most valuable.

(f) There is a very inadequate correlation between the courses of study pursued and the capacity of the professions and industries to absorb graduates. Consequently, the University career all too often produces social maladjustments of the gravest character. Democratic theory teaches that a man should study what and as he pleases. Such a doctrine would be suitable only for a world of unrelieved leisure. Except for those who have no intention of turning their studies to financial profit, the needs of the community must be the paramount consideration. Knowledge without the means of life is a sorry knowledge, and one which may be productive of sorry consequences for society.

(g) Some Universities have given to alien and Oriental students an instruction which has diminished British prestige abroad. Persons, moreover, who have left Germany for her good are being granted opportunities at the expense, literal and metaphorical of British subjects.

(h) From this brief review the main tendencies of Fascist educational policy may be inferred. Indeed such a brief and scanty survey could serve no useful purpose except to indicate the direction of reform.

Assistance shall not be withdrawn from any school which can justify itself on educational grounds, indeed the resources of the Corporate State will enhance the value of such assistance. Hence there arises no religious issue at all, since the schools are to be judged as educational establishments without any regard whatsoever to the religious instruction which they may give. No inefficient school will be tolerated, and no efficient school will be penalised.

4. Educational interests shall be represented in Parliament by such persons as the members of the Educational Corporation shall elect. This Corporation shall be constituted mainly of teachers and other educational authorities, but shall also contain a minority membership affording representation to the other professions and chief industries of the nation.

A second purpose of the Corporation shall be to give the teachers the definitely professional status which they now lack.

Those who have any acquaintance with the nature of the Corporate State need hardly be informed that this Corporation will be responsible for the main conduct of education throughout the land.

5. A new and real Board of Education shall be established. This body nominated by the Head of the Government, shall be the instrument for the operation of Fascist policy. It shall be directly responsible to the Minister of Education. This Board shall be concerned not only with technical administration but also with the imparting of a decisively Fascist character to all education throughout the realm.

There is no consistency in advocating Fascism and neglecting to give it a prominent place in the educational system. Fascism could never succeed if the Fascist believed all creeds to be as good as his own.

The Board shall not, however, omit from its consideration the individual aspects of education discussed in the first section of this paper.

Lastly, the Board shall be required to produce complete co-ordination of all the educational enterprises in the country. In accordance with the Fascist interpretation of Local Government, local councils shall be responsible for the translation into effect of national policy. Thus, in truth, one supreme educational authority will replace the multitudinous and conflicting local authorities. This kind of co-ordination is calculated to produce that uniformity without which education cannot be organised to serve the national needs.

6. The Teachers

It is not possible for teachers to have a professional status unless they are obliged to satisfy certain stringent conditions of qualification. Some few individuals who are born to teach may be able to dispense with training itself, however it is both an art and a science and operations on the human mind, like operations on the human body do not safely admit of "Trial and Error" Hence it is necessary that every teacher should possess a certificate of ability to teach. The earning of such a certificate does not necessarily imply attendance at a Training College. For many years the College of Preceptors has, through its Diploma examinations afforded an excellent opportunity of sound training to teachers who **could** not afford the money to attend a regular training college.

To dismiss all teachers lacking a certificate of professional skill would be to inflict a great hardship on many worthy instructors: but it is not too much to require that such a certificate should be gained within a specified time. Exceptions would be made in the case of teachers who were able to prove that they had given more than 16 years of really valuable service to education. On the other hand all candidates for admission to the profession, in whatever kind of school they proposed to practice, would be obliged to produce certificates of professional ability as distinct from such academic qualifications as they might hold.

No professional certificate would be required from present University teachers; but all such teachers granted a first University appointment subsequent to the establishment of the Educational Corporation would be required, within a certain time, to give evidence of their capacity to teach.

7. All teachers other than those engaged in University work will be required to appear before a delegacy of their Corporation, which would not only examine orally their attitude towards the profession but would also give advice designed to secure that teachers should keep themselves constantly informed of cultural progress.

8. The National Board of Education shall appoint from the teaching profession by selection and examination inspectors whose duty shall be to advise teachers and report on their work.

9. Teachers, except those engaged in University work, shall normally be retired on pension at the age of 57. Needless to say, however, a teacher whose work was of demonstrably high value would not be compelled to retire.

10. Teachers shall be remunerated in accordance with genuine professional standards. As Fascist economic teaching stresses the value of high purchasing power, their salaries shall generally be increased. Headmasters, however, are not badly paid under the present system. The resources of the Fascist State will be directed in the first place to an amelioration of the lot of subordinate teachers.

11. A desirable, if not an immediate principle is that the salary paid to Junior lecturers in the Universities should be of a nature to attract talent rather than enforce celibacy.

12. The teacher must be a good citizen. Political propaganda against the State will not be tolerated in an educational establishment. A sovereignty which allows itself to be undermined is not worthy to exist.

13. The appointment and removal of teachers is at the discretion of the Board of Education, though it is not proposed to exercise this discretion as a matter of course.

State Schools

14. The following limits of educational attendance at State schools shall be observed:

Kindergarten (Voluntary)	3 to 6 years
Elementary School ..	6 to 12 years
Secondary School	11 to 16 years

Thus the school leaving age will be 16 but pupils of exceptional ability will be enabled to continue their education at the State Secondary or Public School until the age of 18, when state aid will be withdrawn from them unless they qualify for admission to a University. Promotion from the Elementary to the Secondary school shall be by examination; but the purpose of this examination shall be merely to eliminate those who would not profit by higher education of any kind. Such children would be deemed of low ability. From 12 to 16 they would be allowed to attend a secondary school; but they would be made to specialize in writing, arithmetic, handicraft, and, if they were fit, in physical training.

15. From the age of 14, pupils will be at liberty to apply by competitive examination for admission, as scholarship students, to the University.

16. The guiding principle which must govern the extension of great opportunity is that more money should be spent on real talent and less on mediocrity.

17. No pupil of high ability shall be debarred by financial circumstances from attending school till the age of 18.

18. Classes shall be reduced progressively in size until their strength approximates to 20, as our economic policy makes possible the employment of more teachers.

19. The State shall be responsible for the conditions of health prevailing in schools.

20. The methods wherein instruction can best be brought into conformity with the needs of industry can properly be determined by the Educational Corporation. To emphasise the dignity of manual labour, handicraft shall receive a prominent place in the curricula.

Private Schools

21. No private school may function without a licence from the Board of Education.

22. All private Schools shall be subject to the supervision and control of the Board of Education.

23. The Board of Education shall determine the conditions to prevail in private schools.

Public Schools

24 These schools shall be subject to the supervision and control of the Board of Education, which shall appoint Commissioners whose duty will be to adapt these institutions to the needs of the Fascist State.

25. To these schools there shall be admitted a proportion of Scholarship students to be fixed by the Board of Education.

26. Boys who attend these institutions shall, in common with those who attend State schools belong to a Fascist Youth Organisation which shall provide facilities for the elimination of class prejudice by the common association of boys drawn from all sections of the community.

Technical and Evening Schools

27 These institutions shall be enabled to extend their work in accordance not only with Fascist solicitude for adult education but also with the fact that the shorter working day will give the workman time to pursue that cultural development which he is now able to attain only at the cost of heavy sacrifice.

28 These institutions shall not only provide the opportunities for cultural improvement. They shall develop a technical instruction in accordance with the needs of the Corporations, which, through the Education Corporation, may require from some of their members certificates of technical proficiency granted by these institutions, which shall thus become media for the attribution of a certain professional to the industrial corporations.

The Universities

29. The Universities, like other educational establishments, shall be responsible to the Board of Education; but they shall be afforded the largest measure of autonomy compatible with the needs of national policy. They shall be presumed capable of directing their own affairs except where they give proof to the contrary.

30. The Board of Education shall organise a Council of University representatives to give expert advice on the relations between University finance and research.

31. Research shall be financially assisted by the State. The correlation desired between university studies and professional needs shall be established and secured by Parliamentary machinery.

32. The Board of Education shall be responsible for the admission to the Universities of all scholarship students. The money which Universities now devote to scholarships shall be applied to research.

31. Propaganda against the State shall be tolerated in no University

32. Effect shall be given to the principle that those who are not profiting by their attendance at a University shall be removed to make room for better students.

33. The state will, in due course, make itself responsible for such remuneration of junior lecturers as will attract men whose personality forbids them to accept asceticism as a concomitant of University work, but who, nevertheless, would be able to give valuable teaching service.

34. Attention is drawn to the fact that the Universities will have special representation in the Senate.

Examinations

35. The whole question of examinations is to be considered by the Educational Corporation.

Physical Training

36. That good health and sound physique are prime national necessities is a principle from which no sensible person will dissent. The coordinated system of Fascist national education will enable the State to secure that physical training shall be given its due place in education, at

In accordance with the Fascist belief in self defence, Cadet Corps and Officers Training Corps shall receive every encouragement. The man who can fight is often a man of peace. It is the spiteful "pacifist" cowards who are now attempting to inflame the national feeling against a great and friendly nation.

The reader will now be entitled to remark that the whole subject has been given exiguous treatment; nothing more, however, than the bare adumbration of principles has been attempted. From a treatise so barren of detail, there cannot fail to emerge three salient propositions, which may thus be resumed:

1. The Fascist State sets the highest value on education.
2. The Fascist State will plan and organise nationally the education of its subjects.
3. The Fascist State will not permit its subjects to be deprived of opportunity by economic discrimination.

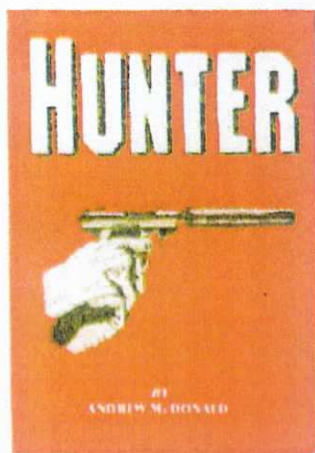
Fascism, whilst not regarding discursive philosophy with disfavour, is devoted to action as a paramount necessity.

Hence the most fitting conclusion to this paper is the assurance that by action alone can misused prerogative be transformed into national glory

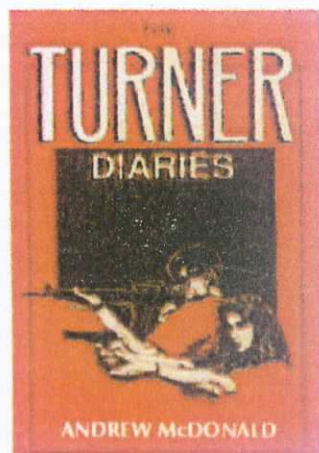


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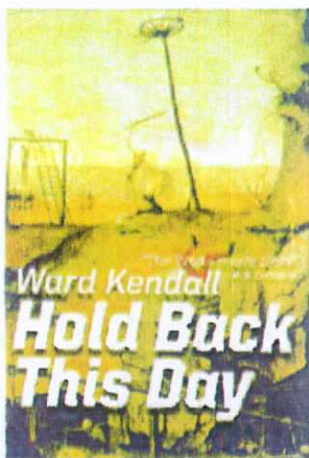
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